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619 [175] have achieved. For the traditional Santal, membership in the tribe constitutes the widest bond of social identification. This is true even though as far back as historical records extend (to the early nineteenth century), the Santal have not been politically unified. Beneath the level of the somewhat nebulous tribe there are interpenetrating territorial and kinship organizations.

[634] [192] Territorially, the largest formally organized unit is the *Pargana* (Hindi = a subdivision of a district), a loose confederation of approximately a dozen villages bound together to settle certain judicial questions. Its proceedings are conducted by a "Chief" [621] (*Parganath* in Bengali or *Desh-Pradhān* in Hindi). The village (*ato*) is the only other formally organized territorial unit and is often divided into sections (*tola* in Hindi). Village "Chiefs" [622] [192] are known as *Mañjhi* or *Pradhān* (Hindi = Headman); other village officials include an "Assistant Chief" or "Chiefs" (*Jog-*[192] *mañjhi*) and a "Village Priest" (*Naeke*).

614 [192] The widest separate kinship unit is the "Clan" (*Paris:* or *Jāti*,* Hindi = Caste). According to the Santal creation myth there should be twelve clans; in fact there appear to be only nine. Clan membership, like all inheritance, is determined patrilineally. Containing thousands of members, the clan is, of course, a fictitious kinship unit; apart from bearing a name and the presumption of some common rituals performed by its constituent local lineages, the clan has few "likenesses" to bind it together and does not exist as a corporate unit. The clan is, nonetheless, an exogamous social entity which serves as a reference point establishing kinship relations among all Santal. Santal unable to trace "actual" common relatives can establish their kin relationship via the clan; for example, a non-kin of the same sex and same clan might be regarded as a brother,

* *Jāti* is also used by the Santal to refer to the tribe as a unit.

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any, and then begins to prepare a meal. Within the local lineage these visits are frequent, especially during festivals.

Rice and money are borrowed—always without interest—within the local lineage, though there are cases in which help is denied. Occasionally members may contribute funds so that a young member may obtain an education; however, prior to this century education was extremely rare among the southern Santal, among whom missionary efforts were not nearly so intense as among the northern Santal.

Though an entire local lineage is not likely to reside in a single village, the members inevitably live near one another. Typically, the founders of a village are members of a single local lineage. Members of this founding lineage thus tend to have more and superior land than later immigrants. In most instances the chief offices of the village, i.e., "village headman" and "village priest" belong to the founding lineage. The rule of primogeniture obtains, though upon the death of any officer the villagers must accede in the choice of a new officer. To what degree the villagers may in fact determine who shall fill the position is not clear, though there are cases in which an older son of a deceased headman or priest was passed over in favor of a younger son on the basis of alleged incompetence. Although the village must give its assent in selecting leaders—and to the decisions of leaders as well, since there is nothing more than the consent of the governed to support such decisions—important control of village affairs does lie within the control of the founding local lineage through its control of offices, superior wealth, and prestige.

In the traditional system, disputes within a village are brought to the attention of the headman by the contending parties. He may suggest some compromise if it is not a question

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622 692 of serious concern to the entire village. If his suggestion is not accepted, or if the matter is of village concern, he may call together the so-called "Five People" (*mōre hoṛ*). The "Five People," obviously homologous with the Hindu *Panchayāt*, actually consist of as many married males from the village as wish to participate. After prolonged discussion, the headman will pronounce what he takes to be the general consensus and will ask if this is not acceptable. According to the traditional way of stating the matter, "all must agree" for a decision to be reached, but this requirement does not quite mean that all must be convinced that the decision is a good one.

626 To understand the nature of this consensus, which is an important element in Santal solidarity, one must consider the relation between morality and solidarity in the Santal view. For the traditional Santal, what the "people" say is good and true *is* good and true. Like other peoples, the Santal are not entirely consistent in this matter, but they do regard consensus as the basis of morality. Though the facts of any particular issue must be decided upon the basis of evidence presented, true moral rules are felt to lie in the matrix of the traditional cultural heritage. Thus, when it is a question of deciding what the rules are or ought to be, the "people" ostensibly consult the unwritten records of their tradition.

The Santal are well practiced in giving assent to what appears to be consensus. Thus it is quite proper to move from the minority to the majority viewpoint not because one ought to be accommodating or because one has seen the light, but rather because the voice of the people is the voice of tradition—and since the traditional is sacred, it would not be far wrong to say the voice of the sacred as well.

The practice of readily giving assent to prevailing views

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621 occasions, bury or cremate one another, assist each other during illness or scarcity, entertain one another, and make "pleasure" possible. They may hunt together, jointly stock some pool with fish and generally carry on the daily routine of work and leisure side by side. Santal kinship groups are important within the village, but they are not nearly so divisive as Hindu castes. Neither the clan, the sub-clan, nor the local lineage is endogamous nor so structured as to limit social relations with nonmembers. Indeed, all are exogamous and it is only the entire tribe which in some respects is equivalent to a Hindu caste. The Santal village is therefore more internally solidary than a Hindu village of the region, though many clans may be represented.

Though not formally so, the village is in practice almost completely exogamous. This is partially due to the close relations between villagers and to the feeling that if a man's in-laws, and particularly his brothers-in-law, are living in his village, he will have difficulty in "disciplining" his wife; to put it as the Santals do, "She will run home to her house all the time making trouble between her husband and her brothers."

[582] [593]

The tie to one's village is also supported by the attachment to the agricultural land which generally surrounds the few rows of houses and which is regarded as an integral part of the village. Besides the founding spirit of the village there are distinctive "boundary deities" (*sima boṅga*) marking the special attachment to one's own village.

• 622 628 692 As indicated earlier, the village is tied to about a dozen nearby villages in a quasi-judicial relationship. The head of this confederation is in many respects a multi-village headman. He is generally recruited from that local lineage which first migrated to the area; his tenure and appointment are subject to

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622 628 692 the approval of the villagers with whom he is associated; he presides generally at disputes which cannot be settled within a particular village, at inter-village disputes or at discussions of custom which are of concern to the entire set of villages under his jurisdiction; like the headman of a village, he is at most *primus inter pares*. Publicly he is little more than the voice of consensus, though privately his influence is that of an especially respected and powerful person.

69 [577] The "justice" of the Santal, i.e., their institutionalized practices as distinct from the desires of injured parties, places a strong premium on rendering decisions which will restore severed relationships and permit life to return to what it was [681] before the dispute. The fee to the "court" is often as substantial as a judgment and must be paid by both parties. There is almost always encouragement to settle "out of court" by friends and officials. Fees paid to the "court" are generally spent to buy rice beer and viands so that after the bitterness of the contest both court and contestants join together in "pleasure," and all [192] is as it was. These gatherings to settle disputes within the village are usually called "discussions" (*galmarao*); multi-village gatherings are known as *dorbar* (Hindi, *dorbar* = court).

584 621 Besides the judicial tie, each village is bound to a number of others by marriage. Marriage procedures will be discussed at length but it is appropriate here to note that marriage is arranged with the aid of villagers and village officials as well as those associated by kinship and is of great interest and concern to the whole village. The ceremonies of marriage dramatize this concern, reflecting village solidarity in gaining and accepting a daughter or sorrowfully giving one up, as the case may be.

63 184 Beyond the multi-village judicial organization there are no formally organized territorial units: however, regional cultural

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556 riage connections by joining together families of approximately
[581] equal wealth and that it is an important source of power. There
[622] is a strong tendency for village officers and other members of
[624] founding lineages to be richer than later immigrants; hence wealth tends to be joined with hereditary office. In the informal councils which precede formal deliberations over disputes or policy, men listen more attentively to the statements of the wealthy. This attentiveness is a sign of respect, but also of recognition of the wealthy individual's ability to give or withhold favors; sometimes there is also the informal bribery of generous hospitality, and on occasion, outright bribes in return for support. Wealth differences can result in special likenesses and differences within Santal society, and even ceremonies graded in cost, as will be discussed later.

554 It would normally go without saying that those who hold
182 positions of special power and prestige have a special interest in the preservation of traditional solidarity and provide a natural source of endogenous pressure for the maintenance of traditional structure. It receives mention here only because it will soon be shown that other circumstances make these same privileged Santal especially subject to tribally disintegrative centrifugal pressures.

[P. 26 is blank]

Nonetheless, elite Santal were somewhat more Hinduized

177 556 than their poorer fellows. Some managed to attract a coterie of high-caste but often impoverished Hindus. One hears of wealthy Santal who spent considerable sums on such associates during trips to and attendance at Hindu festivals. Some who 177 556 were village headmen or Parganaths (multi-village headmen) established enduring relations with the Mahārājā or local • 622 zemindar of their region. These Santal often were given responsibility for tax collection, in return for which they kept a portion and received grants of land.

177 608 648 The Santal have long followed the practice of establishing among themselves, and with other castes, permanent bonds of a kinship type, which are given public recognition in a "flower" (*phul*; Santali and Hindi =flower) ceremony. In some instances an elite family managed to establish such a tie with a Brahman family while ordinary Santal contracted such relations only with other tribals or Hindus of very low caste. *This contact contributed to differential emulation of Hindu practices.* Some of the [192] [583] traditional elite among the southern Santal abandoned beef-eating and cow sacrifice; some affected the dress of high-caste Hindus; a few demanded an end to "capture marriage" (*itut' bapla*) because they did not wish to have close relations with unwealthy families of low status. Though their success in getting the non-elite to follow their Hinduized practices was limited, a certain degree of culture difference was established, to the detriment of solidarity.

177 However, as the historical evidence indicates and as any contemporary observer could infer, contact with Hindu society has been long and/or intensive, and that portion of Santal culture shared by all Santal is so marked with Hindu traits that it [759] would be a monumental task to indicate all of them. All Santal call on neighboring Hindus of low caste to deliver babies.

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369 There are a few observations concerning ceremonial practice
796 which apply to all the city Santal (excluding, of course, those
who live in town *bustees*). We have seen that the city Santal
[622] are not even a community to the degree that the *bustee* Santal
[778] are; they do not, for the most part, live side-by-side, they have
[793] no headman or priest and they have no Sacred Grove in which to assemble for community worship. The practice of community worship is ruled out for lack of physical facilities, but as we have seen from our examination of the *bustee*, there is little reason to think that their presence would be sufficient to maintain ceremonial practice and participation at the level obtained in rural villages.

342 What is most striking about the city Santal is that they do
369 not practice ancestor worship in their Company houses. Their
769 explanation of this, with a little elaboration, appears to me to be an adequate one. They say, "Who knows whose houses these were before we got here—they are not our houses. That
[192] is why we do not worship here." It will be recalled that ancestor worship is performed behind a wall dividing off a portion of the main room of the house and known as "inside" (*bhitar*; Santali and Hindi = "inside"). The same word is used to refer to secret rites and deities of a family and of a local lineage, i.e., when a question touches on such things they will say you are asking an "inside" question. It will also be recalled that this "inside" portion of the house must be guarded against pollution by menstruating women. Since it is not permissible to erect such a wall within a company house, again physical facilities in the city render traditional practice difficult. But more than the particular difficulty of lack of a wall, there is a
[783] general question of pollution. Not only does the company house not provide a proper sanctuary for the "inside" rites of

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/For additional information on the role of the village headman in various native customs, passim, see category 116, pp. 23-85; 101-105; 128-131; 137-169; 176, 193./

2: Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

782 them: Please, Lords, the promise you gave is a promise, your promise is a golden promise,
776 ours is a skin promise, please give us a hand-given promise, before you leave. A promise given is a promise, a promise of luck and good fortune, may they never become false and worthless. Thereupon the bongas, one after the other, give to the priest the rice they have in their hand. The village people then say: Please, Lords, it has been a long time, and it is very late, the horses, the umbrellas in the Siŕ forest, the Man forest[6], dig and fill their stomach with hasa vegetables, with ǰimbu vegetables[7]. Then the possessed men regain consciousness. The rice mentioned the men who were possessed take. And having reached the village they enter the headman's house, where they give them food. This is the way in which the bongas are brought up in the sacred grove.

d. The assistants of the village headman.

• 622 Thereupon all the men come together at the Mąńjhi (the village headman). He has
624 brewed beer. Now as he deems the men in the village fit, in accordance with this he chooses some to assist him in the village; he appoints them to positions: You become our Paranik, you become our Goǰet. And if there are sufficient people, he will at the same time also appoint a Jǫg Mąńjhi and a Jǫg Paranik. And one for whom it is possible to offer his own blood, he will appoint to be Kuǰąm Naeke. He gives them beer; they drink and then gradually go home.

622 The Mąńjhi is the head of the village people. All people in the village will have to follow his lead. In ordering and inviting, in calling and restraining, at the namegiving, at the initiating festivals, at marriages, when hunting and chasing, at feasts and festivals, at religious instruction and worship, in connexion with rice and curry, with beer and liquor, with spirits and mountain spirits, in quarrelling and squabbling, in strife and dispute, when there is hunger and thirst, with landlords and money-lenders, when crime and misdeeds occur, in connexion with thefts and stealing, with medicine and witchcraft, with wenches and strumpets, when there is fighting and killing, murder and wickedness, in grief and sorrow, in calamities and dangers, in illness and pain, at dying and falling away, at ceremonies in connexion with death and decease, at cremation and the final funeral ceremonies: in connexion with all this the Mąńjhi has the responsibility.

624 The Paranik is the headman's assistant, like a prime minister, and when there is no Mąńjhi, the Paranik rules the village. If the headman should run away, and there are no sons or male relatives of his, the Paranik becomes Mąńjhi. Or if the Mąńjhi dies without having sons, and there also are no male relatives of his in the village, then also the Paranik becomes Mąńjhi.

[131] [137]

[6] The Siŕ and Man forests seem to have reference to the Singbhum and Manbhum districts to the South-west of the Santal Parganas. Santals have been and are still living in these districts. [7] Hasa is a Rumex; ǰimbu a creeper.

2: Skrefarud M-S (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

k. Concerning mutual behaviour and respect.

At the time when we were boys, all members of a family living in the same village greeted each other in the morning, as soon as they got up, and the people in the village also greeted each other when they met, and when members of a family go anywhere on a visit or come back, then also they greet each other. And when the young people of a village go to attend a festival, they bow to the Mṇjhi haram and Mṇjhi buḍhi (the village headman and his wife), when they leave. In the house the master and his wife once daily are sure to kiss their sons and daughters-in-law, big or small. The young men and girls all honour the old men and ladies much. What these say to instruct or exhort them, this they fix in their mind. They are not impudent towards old men and women; in their presence they do not sit down on a bedstead even; young men and girls do not drink beer or liquor; the young men do not go to a place where an ox is eaten either. Women pay much heed to what the men say; they do not let their hair down in the presence of men. The village people honour the village headman and his deputy much, and these two also do not neglect what the village people say.

Nowadays the age has been spoilt. The women do not honour the men; the sons do not respect their old fathers either; daughters are also very impudent towards their mothers; they do not greet each other either; they pass each other like animals; the young men and girls drink an awful amount of beer; when old men come, they do not get up either; when old men or the parents upbraid them, the young men and girls answer back, or they run away in the sulks, and only when coaxed a good deal, will they come back home. The women and the children have become the kings in this age. Some few people are good even at the present time; but most people have become bad. The village headmen also judge covetously (taking bribes), and the village people do not follow the headman's order either. Also co-parents-in-law are quarrelling a good deal in the present age; formerly they never quarrelled, they were very respectful towards each other. The ancestors said: "Rice like flowers, curry like fish, liquor like fire, and a friend like a co-parent-in-law, where will you find such a one?"

l. Concerning friendship.

Living in the same village all are relatives, quite so; but there is not friendship with all there. In a village many people are on friendly terms with each other, and some people also are on good terms with each other, but friendship they have only with one or two others, and intimate friendship they have only one with one other, and this is very rarely found. Intimate friends will give even their life to help each other in calamity and danger. People who are intimate friends tell each other the sorrows and joys of their heart, and in all matters they help each other, when there is any necessity. In the village elderly men

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

224 who shot the deer, him they give the hind half; and of the head they give him one split
[793] piece, of the spleen one split piece and of the liver one split piece. To the village priest
they give the flesh on both sides of the backbone and a part of the liver, to offer to the
spirits. For the village headman they take out one thigh as his part of the rump
• [622] belonging to the killer, the village headman gets the upper part of this; what is below
this his deputy gets, and the end of the leg the Godet gets. And the kettle-drum drummer
gets for himself a separate part of this. The remaining flesh the hunters divide equally
among themselves, and for the men who did not go to hunt, they leave a little flesh, and
this they apportion to them, house by house; this portion they call an extra share (capo
[793] jɔro). Of hares and peafowls the village priest has no right to get anything, neither has
[622] the village headman any right, nor have they any right to get an extra portion; of these
only the one who shot gets his share, and the remaining flesh the hunters divide in equal
portions among themselves. They who carry get the belly, of deer and of hares. This
they call the belly for carrying. Of all kinds of birds the carriers get the gizzard.

The village priest wraps the flesh he is to offer up in a dry leaf and roasts it and offers it to The Five the Six, Pargana haram, Mañjhi haram, and Marañ buru; having offered it he eats the flesh.

The village headman has, by customary law, to give five half-seers of rice as a hunt bounty; this the hunters cook together with the flesh of the heads into a hash and eat. Thereupon they come to their respective homes with their portions. The shooter's rightful portion and the village headman's portion they carry along; the headman's portion they bring into his house, and the rightful portion of the killer of an animal into his house. They who carry and bring this, get beer and food at both places. In the house of the shooter they separate from his rightful portion the pot-flesh on the underside of the knee. This the sisters and daughters of the shooter get. However far away they may live, the shooter brings this to them and leaves it there, and these treat him to beer and food, and they look upon this as a great honour. His part of the head and the liver the shooter
[769] cooks with rice into a hash and offers this to the ancestors of his family.

g. Composing songs and the like.

538 Parables they have gradually composed, at different occasions. Taking up what has been seen they have composed these. If a person suddenly speaks and reveals this or that, then others, thinking that this is good and fitting, will also speak the same, and thus it is spread about. Folk-tales and fairy-stories are not composed nowadays, only old ones are in vogue, learnt one after the other. Riddles we have also only old ones. To mimic no
536 one is able to learn, only by having a natural ability people are able to mimic, to show
533 the faults of people. The songs are mostly old ones; still they are now and then composing a few new ones. Men have composed rinja, matwar, and marriage songs, and

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VIII. CRIME AND ITS PUNISHMENT

a. The councils.

623 634 We have three kinds of councils: The village, or headman's council, the outside, or over-chief council, and the hunt, or the council of the people of the country. In the village council the village headman is the president; in the outside-council the Pargana is the president, and in the hunt council the hunt-priest is the president. In the headman's council the 'five men' of the village[1] assist the headman in judging. In the Pargana's council the village headmen under the Pargana and the village people of the neighbourhood assist him in judging. In the hunt-council the people of the whole country assist the hunt-priest in judging. The headman is above the village; the Pargana is above a number of villages. There is nothing fixed; they have not the same number of villages, some have many, others have only a small number under them. We have Dŏs Mānjhis, these are the assistants of the Parganas. From a village headman's judgement they may appeal to the Pargana, and from the Pargana's judgement they may appeal to the people of the country in the burnt forest. From the judgement of the people of the country there is no appeal.

634 The customary perquisites of a Pargana are as follows: From every single village under him he is to get year by year one rupee, half-a-seer clarified butter, and eighty cobs of Indian corn. The Dŏs Mānjhi gets eight annas, a quarter seer clarified butter, and forty cobs of Indian corn every year in the same villages. When the village headmen under the Pargana pay in to him his perquisites, he gives them a feast, and the Dŏs Mānjhi also 177 does the same. Nowadays some village headmen do not give the Pargana the rupee, neither 178 does the Pargana give any feast to the village headmen who pay: they let all pass into desuetude, since the Europeans have appeared in the Santal country. Since these have 622 appeared, the Parganas and the village headmen have become utterly greedy; anyone who 634 is able to give them most money, in his favour they judge, and people of this kind they 661 help in the public courts, and poor people who have no money, they do not take any notice of; without cause or reason they scold and browbeat them and cause their suit to be dismissed.

177 178 691 The people of the country are not nice either. They do not inform the village headman, neither do they complain to the Pargana, and to the people of the country they do not

[1] See Dictionary s. v. māṛā hōṛ.

2; Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

X. BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH THE BONGAS

a. The witches.

754 Witchcraft[1] is the great trouble with us Santals. Because of witchcraft people in the village become enemies, the door of relatives is shut, father and sons quarrel, brothers are separated, husband and wife are divorced, and in the country people kill each other. [829] If there were no witches, we should have constant great happiness. The Europeans judge well in all matters, so far as their knowledge goes; but in connexion with witchcraft they are somehow or other blinded; we cannot understand it. The witches eat us; and when we catch them and worry them just a little, the magistrates again turn the matter round and resort to imprisonment; we feel great distress; what can we possibly do, so that it might go well with us; we are utterly bewildered. Also when we explain it to the magistrates, they do not believe it; they say: Well then, let her eat my finger; then only shall I believe that she is a witch, — and then they jail you. The witches do not eat using a vessel and a knife, quite so; by sorcery they send people off to the other world, straight away. [622] Formerly the village headman and his deputy were subduing them, and if they would not be peaceful, they would, together with the village people, drive them away from the village after having disgraced them; but nowadays the magistrates have made them utterly audacious, so that we men have become absolutely disheartened.

[562] The word of a man does not go any more; the women have become the absolute rulers in this age. If you say just a little to her, she will at once throw it into your mouth; fearing this you keep quiet, what can you do else.

The witches have their councils at night, in a forest or an open plain somewhere. When they go out, they put a worn broom or the like down on the bedstead with the husband, and he thinks: my wife is here, because on account of the magic he sees this broom like his wife; but the wives have gone to the bongas to be married to them. It is told they do not go on foot; they climb up into some tree or other and go by magic like the wind. They come down at the playing ground of the bongas and dance with the bongas; they call tigers to themselves; they comb them, kiss them; then they subdue the bongas and make them swear that they shall not appear when divination is made. Having acted in this way they return home at cockcrow.

[1] Cf. Bodding: Witchcraft among the Santals. Oslo Ethnografiske Museums Skrifter, vol. 2, p. 5, Oslo 1940.

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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121 62 64 ment and the customary laws that regulate the society to illustrate our observations.

The Limbs of Law

622 (1) In villages

(i) Headman:—

The social authority in the Santal villages is exercised ordinarily by the headman, called Mañjhi, with a batch of village officials to assist him. In [651] Mayurbhanj, he is generally called the Pròdhan, an office belonging to the rural revenue-collector, who need not always be the headman (Mañjhi). Accor- [427] ding to custom he is also the *Ijardar* under a land-holder. His function is to collect rents and to allot land amongst the tenants. His office is not [423] [585] altogether honorary, for he holds free of rent parcels of *màn*[1] land and receives a fee of Re. 1 at each Santal marriage, presenting in turn a pot of rice-beer.

624 [423] (ii) *Paranik*:—He is the assistant headman also enjoying the privilege of rent-free land and having under him a third official, *Jòg-Paranik*.

(iii) *Jòg-Mañjhi*:—This interesting office belongs to a Santal for arranging tribal feasts and carousals of rice-beer, when he acts as a censor of village morals, and is called upon to exercise his

1. Land held by village officials rent-free.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 8 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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121 623 as the right hand of the headman in the exercise of his office.

Village-assembly and its powers and functions

622 623 Social authority in village is exercised by the Headman, but always in consultation with the "Mòɲɛ̀n hòɽ" (*panchayet*) who were originally five in number. At present the number is not so fixed. It comprises the village elders representing all the households. When any question for decision comes, the Headman or in his absence the *Paranik*, receives the complaint. If the matter is simple [624] enough, it is decided immediately by the Headman with the help of the "Mòɲɛ̀n hòɽ," the members of whom are summoned by the village official, *gòḍet*. If the case involves knotty questions of 622 623 692 tribal law, a date is fixed for decision when the parties adduce oral evidence and after due consideration, judgment is pronounced by the Headman.

To take a concrete case, supposing a man has been seriously wounded by another man's buffalo. In such a case tribal laws require the accused to pay a money compensation to the complainant. These judgments are bound to be obeyed and breaches are rare. After the judgment, there is a custom of a money payment being made to the judges by the accused, to be spent by them in feasts and drinks. In some areas, as in the *sadar* sub-division of Mayur-

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In some areas, as in the sadar sub-division of Mayurbhanj, there is an interesting variation in the custom requiring both the complainant and accused to pay jointly for the feast of the judges, in the proportion of ten annas for the accused and six annas for the complainant in the rupee. Generally the "pañc" themselves eat the dinner; the public take no part in it. The contending parties then depart after a cordial mutual *johar* (salutation). In frivolous cases, the complainant has got to pay a fine himself. So we see that the Headman is not the sole repository of law in the eye of tribal jurisprudence to settle disputes; he must consult the "*Mòṇṛèn* hòṛ" to arrive at a decision.

The Headman with the assembly decides all matters of a socio-religious, legal and quasi-legal nature of the village. They are the fountain-heads of justice and custodians of Santal customs and manners, the first court of law both civil and criminal, for the Santal is generally averse to litigation in legally constituted courts, and prefers the arbitration of his village-elders.

To go into details, the Headman with his assembly will raise subscriptions for the public festivals like the December Harvest-Home, for religious feasts, and for offering libations to the deities of serious epidemics affecting the tribe. In all cases of marriage and funerals, the Headman and his advisory body must attend. Such ceremonies without them are unthinkable to the Santal.

3i Mukherjea O, Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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623 without them are unthinkable to the Santal.
622 Similarly, when a man wants to accept a "ghàrdi
[606] jamwane" (domesticated son-in-law, if such a term is permissible), he calls in the village-assembly and informs them orally about his intention.

623 Besides, the Headman deals with breaches of all
627 social taboos by the Santals under his jurisdiction.
692 Thus, a woman getting upon a thatch, or taking
688 to the plough, a man sprinkling water on his elder sister-in-law on the conclusion of the flower-festival or a woman on her husband's elder brother and *vice versa*, are called upon by the Headman and his jury to answer the serious charges, thought to affect the well-being of the tribe and receive their proper share of punishment and a ceremonial purification before restoration to the tribal fold. There are various ways of such expiation as we shall see later on in course of this chapter; elaborate processes being gone through to cleanse the erring member
622 from his or her sin. The Headman and his council
623 are also the custodians of Santal customary laws in
692 the first instance, only they lack jurisdiction to try offences against the tribal totems. They have seisin even over crimes against the marriage law or forbidden degrees in sexual congress, if they are of a lighter nature, the natural venue of such trials being the higher courts as we shall soon see.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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Desh-pròdhan and his inter-village council 634 692

The second court of appeal in Santal tribal law is presided over by a Desh-Pròdhan having jurisdiction over about twenty villages. The unwritten Santal procedure code requires that the president of the tribunal should be assisted by a "Mònjèn hòr" (village elders) representing the villages under him, as well as the Headman of the village from whom the case came by way of reference or from the appeal of the party aggrieved by the decision of the village court. The cases tried here on reference are generally complicated ones, as the case of an unmarried mother, the paternity of whose child the village Headman is unable to trace, and bigger social disputes about tribal customs or usage during religious or social functions. This higher tribunal sits only occasionally, being either convened by the president himself on his own initiative, or on being moved by the aggrieved party. Such a president is selected by the villages constituting his constituency, and he is irremovable till his death.[1]

[623] [622] [684]

1. As regards the reference to the *Desh-Pròdhan*, we had an interesting tug-of-war during our investigation in Mayurbhanj, when a *Pròdhan* (Headman) stoutly refused to admit that the aggrieved party himself had any right of appeal to the *Desh-Pròdhan*, maintaining that the court of appeal could only be set in motion by the Headman's reference alone. We undertook extensive inquiries but found the weight of opinion overwhelming against the claim of the Headman.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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614 684 Ever since the formation of the clans, while the early Santal fathers were migrating from Hihiṛi Pipiṛi to Harata and Sasaṅ beda, inter-marriage amongst the members of the clans was prohibited according to Santal traditions as we read in the *Hòṛkorèn Mare Haṛamko Reak' Katha*. It meant that a Kisku boy could not marry a Kisku girl of the same totem and *vice versa*, nor could he marry within the prohibited degrees specially fixed by custom. If he did, the tribal customary laws required that he and she should be excommunicated. And this has still continued to be as rigid and inexorable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. Added to this, the marriage-laws required that Santal girls should never be given in marriage to non-Santals called *Deko* by the tribe, nor would they tolerate extra-marital unions.

684 622 692 According to Santal tribal laws, whenever a person is detected to have entered into a union falling into the categories described above, the Headman of the village is bound to inform the Headmen of the neighbouring villages to meet in a conference. At this meeting, evidence regarding the guilt of the parties is adduced; and if the case is *prima facie* proved, the Headmen circularise their respective villages to boycott the offenders by refusing to dine with them or by having any other social intercourse with them, till the case is finally

31 Mukherjea O, Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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decided. The penalty for non-observance of this law is that they would be socially ostracised themselves. 684 622 692

The venue of the final trial rests on the tribal chiefs and various other officials of the tribe who assemble together during their general hunting season in the month of Santal *Pata Cando* (swinging festival known as Còròk) At this big Santal assembly, the case is reopened and the parties are asked to adduce evidence in support of their case. If, however, the accused pleads guilty, there is an end of the matrer, and he or she, as the case may be, is fined or ostracised. If the fine is not paid within the date fixed, ostracism takes place in lieu of fine. [623] [224] [796]

When the parties are found guilty by the assembly, the Headman, who took cognisance of the offence initially, gets his credit, but if the evidence shows that the accused persons are not guilty, he is himself seriously punished.

When a verdict of guilt is passed, a general decree of excommunication is issued and a date is fixed for the ceremony. The date and place of *Bitlahà* is communicated through the entire tribe by means of a branch of a *Sal*-tree conveyed on the shoulders of a Santal from one village to another, from one market-place to another; outside their pale few know the significance of this mysterious notice. 684 [202] [211]

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So to preserve the decorum of the village during *Bitlabà*, custom lays it down that if the Headman of a village which is to be publicly disgraced thus, receives the mass of Santals with a pot of water as a token of penance, they will desist from singing the obscene songs and will carry out the rest of the programme.

What is dangerous for the State is that during a *Bitlabà*, mass tribal movements are seen throughout the Santal Parganas. Sometimes the infuriated mobs commit excesses of various kinds and many such cases roll into the courts. Again, there are times when the Santal takes it into his head to commit *Bitlabà* on non-Santals. Now, speaking in terms of Santal customary law, non-Santals are beyond their pale, but who can stop the Santal when his passion has been roused? He does not listen to arguments and several years ago the authorities had to quell a disturbance at the Godda subdivision of the Santal Parganas, where tens of thousands of Santals had assembled to lead a *Bitlabà* against some offending non-Santal residents. Our picture of a tribal ferment during a contemplated social ostracism is not at all an exaggerated one. It created so great a flutter that Santals from Monghyr, Bhagalpur and even Rajmahal marched on to join the movement at Godda.

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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into customary laws. The Santal has, in his own way, learned to value the corporate discipline necessary under social life. He has built up his own body of traditions and customs and has appointed proper custodians to look over them, to administer them for the well-being of the tribe on the earth. Nobody expects from the Santal the cultural level we associate with the civilized races in India, but enquirers into their manners and customs must be struck with the correlation of the cultural evolution of the tribe with its material and environmental back-ground, noticed in the previous chapters.

Scholars of Pre-Dravidian life have noticed the communistic aspect of their society. In many instances, this holds true of Santal life. The leadership of the tribe, whether social or socio-religious as exercised by the Headman or the Priest, is exercised with due restraint because of the check imposed by the consultative body known as "*Monren hor*." Thus Santal tribal judgments have that provision for justice and fair-play which all civilised societies crave. That such democratic ideas permeate the whole tribe will be apparent from the practice of offering gifts to the member in whose house there is festival going on. To a people who are remarkably poor like the Santals, this practice lightens the burden of the house-holder, bound by custom to provide community feasts and drinks, apart from

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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881 of the male-child to all the privileges of the
783 community life of the tribe. It is relevant to add
[582] that marriage is not permitted to any one who has
[764] not gone through the ceremony and should one die (without going through the ritual) his dead-body cannot be cremated nor are his bones thrown into the river, the most important step in a Santal funeral. It is, however, frequently seen that the father of several children performs the *Caco-chatiar* ceremony of all of them together.

As an initial step, *Iang hàṇḍia*, is prepared in the early morning. The villagers procure oil and
• [622] turmeric. The Headman and *Paranik* drink rice-
[624] beer (*hàṇḍia*) and send for the villagers. The women
[793] then rub oil and turmeric on the bodies of the *Naeke* (village-priest) and their assistants and this is done to all in a customary order of precedence from the village-officials down to the villagers. Rice-beer is served. The Santals dance and sing.

[538] Then comes the turn of an old man of the village, a *Guru*, the repository of Santal lores to recite the tribal story of the creation of the world and the wanderings of the Santal (already narrated in the 1st. Chapter, Santal Genesis and Migration) ancestors till they came to their present habitat.

It is then emphasised that all the impurities of the male-child have been purged away and by participating in the drinking bout of *hàṇḍia*, they

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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585 valent Hindu forms. Many of the ceremonials as
177 the application of vermilion to the bride's forehead, have been traced directly to Hindu influences.
585 This *sindur dan* or *sindrà dan* is a remnant of the
174 primitive custom of mixing the blood of the husband
177 and wife, which they either drank or daubed themselves with, as a symbol of an eternal union. As it is a queer problem to discover whether the egg came first or the hen was first, ethnologists have in their turn, traced Dravidian influences in the custom. Similarly, the marriage with a *mòhua* [171] tree, the race of the husband and wife while at the [588] ceremony, called *Kado ghata*, have their parallel in the customs of the Hindus of the Central belt.

II. LOVE MARRIAGE

(1) Raja Raji

583 The freedom of social intercourse that the [834] Santals allow to their boys and girls, naturally leads to many love-marriages ; but the Santals, even when in love, have to go through certain formalities
583 before living as man and wife. So we see that
584 when a couple feel the urge for matrimony, they go
[622] to the house of the village Headman and inform him of their desire. The Headman now will take them to the house of the lover and there, in the presence of the village elders, the beloved is asked

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4,8 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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776 782 men alone to taste those presented before the Abge Bongas.

793 *Selection of Village Priest*

We consider it appropriate at this stage to give the readers some idea as to how the priest, the human connecting link between the tribe and the 793 gods, is selected. When the priest dies childless or 623 resigns voluntarily, village elders assemble at the 622 house of the Headman or the priest. Next, the six deities of holy grove are invoked by the men sitting on mats, each with a winnowing-fan and some sun-dried rice given by the priest, if he is resigning, or by the Headman, if the priest is dead. [787] As usual some begin to shake their heads in a hypnotic trance and get possessed. These men in trance are asked as to who they are. They name themselves after the gods they stand for. Thereafter, they are questioned as to whom they are recommending for the post. They answer. But it is customary that Maran Buru will first propose a name, and the other actor-deities invariably second and support him.

793 We have said before that the priest gets rent-[423] free lands, out of whose proceeds he can buy [427] sacrificial fowls and other requirements of office. [689] Should he commit any social wrong, he can be [623] removed from office by the tribal assembly.

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[634] The Governor understanding the mistake of his predecessors tried to appease the Santal by removing the genuine grievances. He made the Santal territory a separate district called Daminikoh, with four sub-districts, Dumka, Godda, Pakur and Rajmahal. The charge of these sub-districts were given to a Deputy Commissioner and four assistant Commissioners. The [625] regular police was abolished and the duty of keeping [622] peace and order and of arresting of criminals was vested in the hands of the parganait and the village headman.

In the social sphere also steps were taken to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed Santals. The [426] money lenders were not permitted to extort their debts over and over again by recourse to trickery or other- [804] wise. False weights and measures were corrected and cheating in this department was punished and the Santals could now sell their produce in the market witout fear of being swindled. The abolition of serf- [566] dom and the new relationship between capital and [466] labour were far reaching reforms, and the Santal could earn his living as a free worker on the Railway instead of being a slave of a powerful protector. Again, the [464] beginning of tea plantations about this time gave a fresh impetus to profitable work and a higher economic level was achieved by the Santal, who further decided to migrate to the tea area, and on the expiry of the contract to return with a tidy some of money. Such a diverting of labour caused an easing in the struggle for existence among those who stayed at home and enabled the migrant to earn enough to establish himself securely for life.

Thus out of the rebellion came some lasting good and the Santals in the end benefited from it.

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CHAPTER II

Material Culture of the Santal.

The Village : The Santal villages with their houses on both sides of the street are situated on the plains. These villages are not well fortified. In each village only one unpaved avenue can be found, the width of which is about twenty five to thirty feet and the length is equal to the length of the village. There are tall trees at intervals on both sides of the avenue which make the path shady. In a big village generally twenty to thirty houses can be seen and in a small village there are only ten to twelve houses. In each village a Majhisthan is built, where Kulidrupe[1] (Panchayat) takes place and taxes are collected by the head-man of the village, and there the Manjhi Haram (head-man) worships the Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Burhi. In almost every village a Jahersthan can be found which is nothing but a cluster of Sal (Shorea robusta) trees where the Santals worship their village deities. The water supply of the village is derived from a streamlet which runs nearby. The Santal villages are very neat and clean and all the villagers take particular care to keep it so, and scavenging is done by the pigs and dogs which help in keeping the village neat. As soon as the houses have all been erected and the village established, some trees such as mango, jack-fruit etc. are planted ; the Satals[2] have a belief that these trees bring prosperity. The Headman's house is generally built more or less in the centre of the village and close to the Majhisthan. The villages are generally known by their place names as Sunderpahari, Chandna, etc.

[1 Erratum: i.e., kulidrup. 2 Erratum: i.e., Santal. -- Analyst]

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Manjhi Haram's (headman) house. On it taxes are collected by the Manjhi Haram and legal disputes are settled. There is no fixed size for the Majhisthan. It is found that the Santals, in different villages make Majhisthans of different dimensions. In a village there was a Majhisthan ten feet long, eight feet broad and two and half feet in height while in another was one five feet long, four feet broad and one foot high. It consists of a raised mud mound over which a neatly thatched roof is constructed. The roof is supported by five upright wooden posts in the four corners of the Majhisthan and one in the centre. At the base of the centre post is stuck a small stone or wooden lump (sometimes shaped as a human head) daubed with vermilion. From the roof an earthen pot is suspended containing water brought from the Jahirsthan for the spirits to drink and beside it hangs a peacock's head. The floor of the Majhisthan is plastered with mud and cowdung.

The Jahirsthan (Sacred Grove): The Jahirsthan is a place where religious ceremonies of the village are performed by the Santals. It is situated at the end of the village and it must be within the boundary of the village. A cluster of sal trees about twenty to twenty-five in number is always required. Among these trees three are essential, and at the foot of each of these three trees a stone is put representing the deities, Jaherera, Turukomonrako, Marang-Buru. The fourth one is an Ashan tree which grows near these three sal trees and at the foot of this tree a stone representing the deity Pargana-bonga is kept. The fifth and the last one is a Mowa tree, which stands a little apart, and at the foot of this tree, a stone is placed to represent

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One of the strips protrudes, which serves as a handle. They hold the net in the water of a shallow stream and walk up stream, after a little distance, they raise it and catch the fish. In the other type, the net is tied in a circular bamboo frame—the Santals call it 'Kabhi-Jal'. They also use bow and arrow in catching fish. The arrow head here is furnished with three heads. Fishing hook is used to catch fish now-a-days.

The locality where the women catch fish is either below or between the rice-fields where there is standing water. In such places the Santals catch fish in the following way. The water is first laved out sufficiently to make it possible to reach the bottom with one's hand. They go into the water and move about to stir up the mud. The fish becomes confused and numb in the slushy water and are easily caught with the hand.

Catching fish by poisoning is not unknown to the Santals. The poison used for this purpose is got from the roots and bark of certain trees[1]. They powder them and throw them into the stagnant water of either pond or into a certain part of a stream, the fish are drugged and after some time they float on the surface and are caught.

Like hunting, the Santals have communal fishing in which people from neighbouring villages take part. The headman of the village, inside the boundary of which they want to catch fish, announces the date by a branch of a tree with leaves. On the appointed day they gather and after propitiating the bongas with fowls, they start for fishing.

1. Rev. Bodding collected the names of the trees which are as follows :. The roots of 'Kita' (Phoenix acaulis Roxb.). The bark of 'Kumbi' (Careya arborea Roxb.). The bark of a tree called 'Sakri Phal'.

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597 of the boy renounce him and declare him henceforth to belong to the new father; it is also declared that the boy shall have no right of inheritance in the property of his natural father. When all this has been done the adopting father fixes a date for the formal adoption of the boy. The villagers of that village on that day behave as at Janam Chhatiar (name-giving ceremony of the Santal child). They shave and drink handi (rice beer). The usual procedure in a Janam Chhatiar is that the officiating midwife tells the assembled people the name of the new-born child; here she does not tell the name of the boy but the sept or sub-sept of the adopting father; henceforth that becomes the sept of the boy. Thereupon they leave the boy to eat the flesh of animals sacrificed to the tribal deities. Henceforward the boy becomes their own.

684 627 **Bitlaha**: It means to outcast a Santal from society. This outcasting takes place by the order of the assembled members of the Panchayat. It is resorted to when a Santal woman indulges in sexual intercourse with either a diku (non-Santal) or with a person of the same sept. If any one commits such an offence the headman of the village in question calls his neighbouring colleagues together and informs them of the matter; if the people hold that the case is not proven, then those who started the rumour are severely punished. If it is proved, the assembly gives an order for outcasting and they proceed to carry it out the day after the annual hunt. The date of this Bitlaha is announced by a man in the market who carries a branch of a Sal tree (Shorea robusta) with leaves. The people in the market on seeing him understand the matter and count the leaves

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Santal Administrative Officer.

Manjhi (Headman) : The basis of the Santal communal system is the village. Santals will never settle alone in an uncultivated area ; they go there in a body and settle with a leader and his assistants. The leader is known as *Manjhi* (headman), being chosen by the village people to administer the rights, rules and ceremonies of the Santal village community. No public sacrifice, no festival, no ceremony such as marriage can properly be done without the *Manjhi* taking the lead or initiative. The *Manjhi* is the representative of the village both in external and internal affairs. He also collects rents from the villagers. If the headman of a Santal village be other than a Santal (such as Kumar or Bauri) which sometimes happens, the Santals will have for themselves an official called *Handi Manjhi* who performs all the duties of the Santal village except collecting rent and other work demanded by the Government.

Assistant to the Headman-Paramanik Jogmanjhi : There are two assistants to the *Manjhi*, one is *Paramanik* and the other is the *Jogmanjhi*. The *Paramanik* is the principal assistant and representative of the *Manjhi* by whom he is chosen. If the *Manjhi* dies without any male issue or brothers then the *Paramanik* will get the office. In his (*Manjhi's*) social functions the *Manjhi* is assisted by the *Jogmanjhi*. His duty to prevent sexual intercourse in the same sept and also with a *diku* (non-Santal). If a girl becomes pregnant the *Jogmanjhi* has to find out who the culprit is. If he does not, the villagers tie him with the rope used for tying a buffalo to a pole in the cowshed of the *Manjhi* and scold him and fine him.

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666 Custom has made these positions hereditary and there is a formal election system. The eldest member in each house of the village has a vote. After election the headman's appointment is confirmed by the Sub-divisional officer and the Deputy Commissioner of that Division, and the *Desh Manjhi's* appointment is confirmed by the Sub-divisional Officer only.

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624 **Federal Council and The First Court of Appeal**
The Panchayat and Kulidrup

In the month of Magh (January and February) the village people gather together after a sacrifice. The headman of the village, taking the lead, resigns his post to the village people; all the other officials of the village also resign their posts one after another

634 **Panchayat**: In each *bunglow* there are two councils, upper and lower, like the modern Council House and Assembly of India. The upper is known as *Panchayat* in which the *Parganait* of the *bunglow* presides and the headman of all the villages of the *bunglow* become members of the *Panchayat*. Affairs of a weighty nature have to be decided in the council.

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634 **Kulidrup**: The lower assembly is known as *Kulidrup* in which the eldest member of each house represents the assembly and the headman of the village presides. The indigenous officials of the village described above are ex-officio members of the *Kulidrup* and every village has a place for holding the council before the house of the headman of the village which is known as *Manjhisthan*. All petty disputes, both of a civil and

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up for non-payment of the accumulated debt, which by then was a considerably larger sum. They were thus compelled to make new agreements with their landlord at an enhanced rent and with inferior rights. The later passage of legislation has done little to lift the burden of despair about the future which is an unhappy characteristic of Santal life today. Such incidents explain in no small measure the cry of the heart which is heard from time to time: "Give us back our land." It is some consolation that the Act of 1918, followed by legislation during the last twenty years aimed at improving the status of the peasantry in Bengal, has brought to a close some of the worst chapters in a long and sordid story.

The community life of the Santal centres in his village, and is so organized as to make common action inevitable in social, economic and religious affairs. The houses are built on either side of the village street, which must be left wide enough for two bullock carts to pass each other. This street extends from east to west, the eastern end being known as the upper end. The houses, set close together, have their main door opening on to the village street, and each household is responsible for the state of the road outside its own residence. It is here in the village that the Santal learns how to live; here he is initiated into the traditional loyalties of the tribe, and the village of his birth exercises a deep influence over him all his days.

The village headman, or *manjhi*, is the man of greatest consequence in the community. The post is hereditary, and it passes ordinarily to the eldest son of the former headman. When the direct line of succession fails through lack of sons or from incapacity on the part of the natural heir, the office passes on to a brother or near relative on the paternal side. The history of the village is preserved in the tradition handed down concerning the headman's ancestry. For example, at Sarenga they tell a story of the three brothers who were the founders of the village and divided the village offices between them. Among them Lokhon has acquired the greatest measure of renown, and he is commemorated by a shrine outside the present village. The story is told that he died suddenly, and before the news of his death had spread through the village his spirit took possession of a young man sitting in the courtyard of a house some distance away, and through him Lokhon told the villagers that they were to make a special shrine for him. There is a ceremony at the beginning of each new year which suggests that at one time the appointment of the head-

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man, together with that of all the other officials, was renewed annually, but there is little reality in it at the present day and the post is held for life. He is the spokesman of the villagers in all matters affecting their temporal welfare. In the original settlements it was usual for two or three brothers to start the new village together. The eldest brother assumed the leading position, and all the lands cleared or claimed for the future were in his gift. The cultivable land was divided equally after some portions had been reserved for the officials in recognition of the services they would be called on to perform for the benefit of the community, and the headman received the biggest share of the reserved land. As the village grew, others came to settle. Some became the tenants of the headman, fleeing from the oppression of landlords elsewhere. Others came into the village by marrying daughters of the first settlers. So it comes about that the family of the headman is the most substantial in the village. During the course of years, however, even the headman has in the majority of cases lost his original rights to a non-Santal landlord and has himself become an under-tenant, in spite of which his family has maintained its favourable position in relation to the rest of the villagers. In some cases he has also been able to acquire the rights of other tenants who have defaulted for one reason or another in paying rent. In addition to land, the headman receives other payments which he can use for his own benefit. Thus, when an offender against tribal custom is fined the headman receives a fourth of the total amount. During the spring hunts he receives a part of the flesh of every animal slain by a man from his own village. During the marriage ceremonies he occupies an important position throughout, and when a new bride is coming to his village her father has to pay a rupee to him before the party sets out from her home. At all times he is treated with great respect, especially by the younger members of the community. A marriage party always pays its respects first at his house, and at festivals, when the young men go dancing through the village street, they start outside the headman's house.

In all matters involving the members of more than one village he is the acknowledged representative of his own people, whether it be the making of arrangements for a marriage or the fixing of dates for festivals and for hunts. In the settling of disputes he acquires considerable experience, being the chairman of the council in his own village and meeting with the headmen of other villages when the hunt council sits. Enjoying a position

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of great prestige, it is true of nearly all the village headmen that their whole bearing reveals a sense of dignity, and the exercise of their responsibilities has developed a practical wisdom in dealing with men and affairs that is not to be despised. It is unfortunate that the trend of policy under the British Government (except in the Santal Parganas district) has done much to undermine the authority of the headman, firstly through the development of a highly organized and centralized system of justice. When the aggrieved party in a dispute between Santals is able to seek redress in the distant district courts he is under a strong temptation to ignore the findings of the informal village and tribal councils. The temptation is all the stronger when the Hindu law administered by the court differs from Santal customary law, as it does in some important particulars. Secondly, the organs of local self-government which have been fostered in Bengal take no account of the Santal village system. It is true that some effort is made to secure representation of Santal interests by a system of nomination, but local influence has passed largely into the hands of the landlords. The government is aware of some of the disabilities under which Santals live, and since the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, "Special Officers" have been appointed in several districts. It is their duty to watch over the interests of the Santals, but the success of their work depends largely on their own initiative, a factor which varies from one individual to another. In a few cases where Santal headmen have maintained their position in relation to dealings with non-Santals and with government, it is because they have secured some education and have been able to compete on more equal terms with their neighbours.

None of the other village officials compare with the headman for prestige. There is often a deputy headman, the *paramik*, who works as an adviser, but his main reason for existence is to function for the headman when the latter may be ill or away on family affairs, and he does not occupy a prominent place at other times. Many villages at the present day omit to appoint one. Next in importance comes the *jogmañjhi*, who is still found in every village. It is difficult to define his functions in a phrase; he is a kind of "censor of morals". As such he is the guardian of the morals of the young men in the village, and his wife exercises oversight of the morals of the young women. Unlike many of the tribes to whom they are closely related, the Santals have no dormitory system for the young people of the village. They have no memory of ever having possessed

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jaher rather than as the *Maṅjhi than*. Until recently the shrine had been in another place beyond the present limits of the dwellings, and the villagers had found such a site very inconvenient. They were encouraged to change the site by the fact that in the street there grew an *arjun* tree, one of the sacred trees of Hinduism, and they felt they should do something to signalize its presence in the village. On a cleared space at the base of the tree there were two miniature wooden seats which were used by the spirits when they came, and there were also a clay horse and an elephant which had been in position there since the establishment of the shrine. The duty of tending these shrines, of sweeping the floor and plastering it with cowdung, falls upon an unmarried girl from the headman's house. The headman officiates as the priest at this shrine, presenting the offerings to his ancestors as the representative not only of the family but also of the living members of the village community. Offerings are made during the *Mokor*, the festival that closes the month of *Pus* in mid-January, and also during the Spring and Harvest festival seasons. Animals are sacrificed, but there is a significant difference in the methods of killing the animals offered in the sacred grove to the tribal spirits and those offered to the spirits of the ancestors. In the case of the former the animal is beheaded, but in the latter the animal is struck by a heavy implement on the back of the head so that the blood is not poured out. It does not seem possible to obtain any explanation of this from a Santal, apart from the all-embracing statement that "it is the custom". There is here another indication of the complexity of Santal religion; it would be difficult to fit all the facts into a scheme that seeks to find the origin of sacrifice in a single or simple cause.

The spirit world is not only the concern of the whole community or of each village but also of each family, a fact that finds embodiment in the cult surrounding the third sacred place of the Santals. This is a sacred enclosure inside each dwelling-house known as the *bhitar*, an Indo-Aryan word that means "within". This is formed by constructing a wall across the breadth of the main dwelling-house and so dividing the interior into two rooms with a mud partition between. The *bhitar* is the smaller of the two. The wall may be carried as high as the average height of a man, but often it is only about four feet high. The opening through which members of the family may pass from one room to the other is left vacant without a door. There are no sacred emblems kept in the *bhitar*,

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so they say, nine generations ago. One of the first settlers was one Lokhon Mañjhi. Just before he died he had been paying a visit to the *boŋga than*, probably the sacred grove of that day. It occupied a site that is now taken by the landlord's rent-collecting office and has quite disappeared. He returned home, sat down on his string bed to have a smoke, then suddenly fell over and died. Almost immediately, and before the news of Lokhon's death had passed through the village, a young man in the courtyard of a house belonging to Lokhon's paternal aunt became possessed. He announced to the assembled company that he was Lokhon and that they must make a sacred place for him. They chose an old banyan tree to the north of the village. This tree has long since disappeared, but its place has been taken by an *atnak'* tree, which serves equally well. The fact that the village has become largely non-Santal means that the sanctity of this particular shrine is recognized by people belonging to many different castes, and its reputation has grown with the years. All the offerings there are made by the Santal priest in the village, a man who is descended from Lokhon. He is also the local Santal headman and combines the two offices in one person; such an arrangement is not unique and seems to have been adopted often in places where the Santals are living surrounded by other communities. He and his predecessors have adapted themselves to the new situation, and so this shrine, now utilized by many non-Santals, is still served by a Santal priest. Every market day people from the surrounding villages come to offer sacrifices, to ask a boon, or to leave their thank-offerings of money for blessings that have been granted. Some of the more unscrupulous of the local inhabitants defy the spirits by hanging around and picking up the coins left by the devout.

At the base of the tree is the shrine, formed by a raised earthen mound on which there are many burnt clay effigies of horses and elephants. In front of the mound a narrow path has been cleared for about eight feet, so that the tree is approached from the west, the direction in which all the effigies are facing. This path has been cleared through a jumbled heap of innumerable small clay animal effigies that have been left at the shrine by devotees in the past in the performance of their vows. Here there were many opportunities for watching the priest at work, and the chief impression that stands out is the dignity and reverence with which he performed his tasks. On a particular Thursday in 1941 he first of all cleared a small space at

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On the evening before the appointed day the village bailiff delivers the sacrificial hens, two white hens and one brown, to the priest's house. The priest observes his customary abstinence during that night, sleeping on the bare floor. Next morning the bailiff makes a collection of one hen from each house in the village, together with rice, salt and the various spices that are needed to cook a curry. It is the duty of the priest's wife to grind the flour that will be needed for "cakes"; his sister may perform this work only if she is unmarried. In the morning the priest constructs the sacred squares and circles on a piece of ground previously plastered with cowdung. The sacrifices are performed at noon, and these are in some cases offered in the sacred grove, but in some villages they are offered by the side of a stream or on the bank of one of the artificial lakes that abound. The sacred place is made from north to south, as in the case of the Flower festival, and the procedure is the same. First of all rice is sprinkled in the enclosures and some vermilion is placed on the rice. The birds are fed on the rice, water is sprinkled over them, and vermilion is smeared on their heads, their wings and their legs. When the sacrifice is complete, the priest eats the flesh of the heads, while the men of the village feast on a hash made from the rest of the flesh, and drink and sing.

The distinctive feature of the sacrifice is that, before the hens are offered, an egg is placed standing upright on a small pile of rice in one of the squares, and all the herdboys of the village are summoned to bring the cattle. The priest places vermilion on their goad sticks, and they drive their cattle across the enclosure in which the egg is standing until one of the cattle tramples upon and breaks the egg. This is the signal for an outburst of cheering and excitement. The cow or bull is garlanded and anointed with vermilion on its horns and its head. Sometimes the boy is carried shoulder high to the village headman, before whom he makes a deep obeisance, afterwards saluting the other men of the village. When the villagers return to the houses in the late afternoon they are supplied with beer in the priest's house, after which they visit the headman's house for the same purpose, and so on from one house to another. It is at this time that the youths and young women visit the home of the *jogmaṅjhi* and request him to turn a blind eye to their doings for the duration of the festival. The whole period is characterized by its freedom from traditional morality. The rules of avoidance are treated lightly, and many liberties are taken with members of the opposite sex.

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796 some thirty miles from Sarenga. This fair, which is one of the most famous in Western Bengal, takes place at the time of the Dol Jatra near a temple dedicated to Krishna. The last day of the *mela* is chiefly renowned for the fact that on that day there is a great concourse of Santals for dancing.

[171] [177] One festival which is shared with tribes living right across Central India[1] is the *Karam*. The fact that it is not peculiar to them is known to the Santals, and one informant once told me that they must have borrowed it from the Mahato. He had seen that the Mahato celebrated it and knew of the special relationship between the Mahato and his own people. Many of the songs contain references to Ram and Lokhon, heroes of the *Ramayana*. The festival is rather difficult to characterize, for its celebration takes different forms and arises from different causes. It is connected in all cases with the desire for prosperity, but it may be either a public or a private celebration. The *karam* is a tree[2] that is associated with the god Krishna in the *Vishnu Purana*. When a shoot of this tree is found growing in the land round a house or springing from the roof thatch, the head of that house is responsible for instituting an annual celebration of the festival. The fact that while it is celebrated annually in a great many villages it is not found invariably is perhaps accounted for by its accidental origin. The festival is also associated with certain other definite events. In some cases [756] the leading celebrant is the local *ojha*, who holds a *Karam* festival at the beginning of the month of *Dāsāē* and before he sends out his disciples on their annual begging expedition. [622] [764] Sometimes it is celebrated in connection with the appointment of the new headman of a village, and sometimes in connection with the death ceremonies of a man of substance. Sometimes it is associated with the *Mak' Mōṛē*, an occasional sacrifice to the [782] "Five". These spirits are peculiarly liable to become offended, and offerings are made to them to avert their wrath, which takes the form of inflicting a poor harvest or an epidemic. Whatever the occasion may be, the celebration of the *Karam* is regarded as an insurance either on behalf of a particular family or on behalf of the whole village. It may be either a way of enhancing good fortune or of warding off evil. Where in the area it has become an annual festival it is held at the full moon in the month of *Sau* (July-August). At sunset the un-

[113] [1] References to Central India are to be found in *Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills*, by V. Elwin, Oxford University Press, pp. 3–11.

[2] *Adinia cordifolia*, Hook., f. and B.